

461 adolescents to perform their economic tasks. One of the cri-
581 teria by which a girl chooses a man for a lover or a husband
883 is his ability as a worker. Other things equal, the more indus-
trious a boy is, the more he is sought after by the girls. Lazy
lads are shunned. Mar, who was considered to be very lazy
and a poor worker, was not at all popular with the girls.

883 Industriousness on the part of the girl is an even more im-
461 portant criterion of attractiveness than for a boy. The big,
581 strapping women, who could carry large loads of produce or
832 firewood up the mountainside, and who could labor tirelessly,
were the females that caused Kwoma men to smack their lips
and make lewd comments. Marok's sister, Uka, a powerfully
built woman, was considered the most attractive girl in the
hamlet. Her strength and industriousness were always men-
tioned as attributes of her desirability. Indeed, after her hus-
band left to work on a plantation, Marok had some difficulty
in preventing her suitors from ignoring her marriage and
taking her to live with them. She needed pressure from rela-
tives to keep her in line. Yawa, on the other hand, exemplifies
[584] what happens to a lazy girl. Before she went to live with
Mar as his betrothed,* she was affianced to another young
man. The engagement had been arranged by her parents,
but the boy and his family would not accept her because she
was so lazy. They treated her with such contempt that she
returned home. With Mar she fared little better. He once
complained to me: "Yawa is no good. She is terribly lazy.
When she is getting firewood, she just brings tiny twigs.
When she gets sago-flour, she cuts down the smallest palms.
If she attempted a big one it would take her from dawn until
after dark. I have never had intercourse with her and I never
will, even if she stays here the rest of her life. If I did and
she had a baby, I would have to pay the bride-price. She is
not worth any."

461 Laziness is directly punished by social disapproval, indus-
• 626 triousness rewarded by social esteem and prestige. The cases
of Mar and Yawa also exemplify the application of these
sanctions. After Mar had delayed hanging stringers in his

[583] * Girls live for a few months with their parents-in-law before marriage.

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garden for almost a week, Gwiyap reprimanded him severely⁴⁶¹ for his negligence, "You will not have any yam crop at all if⁶²⁶ you continue being so lazy." Other members of Mar's family and even less closely related persons began scolding him to his face and talking behind his back until he finally did the work.¹⁰ Yawa suffered similar criticisms for her laziness. Not only did her negligence contribute to her lack of sexual gratification, but whenever she shirked her duties of gathering firewood or extracting sago flour both Mar and his sisters were openly critical of her. Thus economic work habits, although they are instrumental to the production of food and are thus primarily motivated by the hunger drive, are also culturally connected with both sexual satisfaction and the avoidance of punishment.

Pubescence brings with it a new sexual status for the male.⁸⁸² His sexual drive, increasing rapidly in potential intensity, forces him into new learning dilemmas. He discovers new modes of gratifying the impulse, although he also persists in most of his previously learned habits. In addition to the prohibitions imposed during the weaning and infancy period, he must learn new restrictions against the behavior which will most immediately and directly reduce his sexual tension. He must also prepare for adult status by beginning to plan^[584] for marriage, since every adult Kwoma must marry.

There is some evidence that adolescent boys masturbate.⁸⁸² Gwiyap reported that he stimulated his penis to the point of⁸³⁹ orgasm while in bed at night. He stated that he did this only when he was unobserved by others, which was not very^[513] often owing to Kwoma sleeping arrangements.¹¹ He was^[123] somewhat loath to give me this information and did so only after I had established strong rapport with him. He had previously denied it. Since all others whom I questioned denied masturbation, Gwiyap's behavior may have been aberrant. On the other hand, I was unable to establish such an^[123]

¹⁰ Mar, as will be described later, had had a nervous breakdown the last time he had gone to his garden, so that his fear of returning was very strong. Considerable social pressure had to be applied to overcome this fear.

¹¹ The whole family sleeps in the enclosed room of the dwelling on separate bark slabs.^[242]

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afraid of So-and-so: "His sister likes me, and he cannot stop me from philandering with her. I am a hard man."

The persons who have, or attempt to have, affairs with a boy's *sister* constitute another category of persons who menace him. The danger in this case is not that of physical injury but rather the threat that the value of his *sister* may be depreciated, leaving him less money with which to pay for a wife of his own. A boy is not only supported by his community for reacting aggressively toward his *sister's* lover, he is punished by them if he does not. Custom limits, however, the amount of aggression that he may show. If he oversteps these bounds, he loses the support of his own relatives. The socially expected reaction when a boy discovers that someone has been making free with his *sister* is to retaliate in kind, that is, to philander with a *sister* of his antagonist. He is also expected to shout insults at the latter, to challenge him to a fight (which never eventuates), and to threaten to kill him if he persists. If he catches a lover in *flagrante delicto* with his *sister*, the boy is expected to attack him physically. He may even kill him, but it is wiser not to do so since such an act would certainly precipitate a feud.

Even in courtship, the father and brothers of the girl are a source of danger. They stand in judgment over the suitor and his actions. If they do not approve of him, they seriously interfere with his desires. His reaction toward them is a combination of aggression and avoidance. To their face he is alternately friendly and jokingly aggressive; behind their back he may show marked hostility. When Waramus interfered with Mar's courtship of his daughter Aya, Mar accused him behind his back of being a sorcerer and said that he was going to challenge him to a fight. Several times he expressed the intention of "punching Waramus in the nose," and once he told me that he would like to go down and spear the man while he slept. In his face-to-face relations with Waramus, however, Mar was polite to the point of obsequiousness.

Gwiyap's behavior toward the relatives of his betrothed,

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food for himself, his wife, and his children. If he fails to do so, he may be criticized by his relatives, and deserted by his wife.

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Gardening is an occupation which involves the coöperative endeavors of several persons.* The basic gardening group consists of the members of two or more closely related households, typically a father and his adult sons and their wives and children, or two or more adult brothers and their families. Sometimes a man will make a garden with his paternal uncle. Each adult male in the group has an equal share in the garden set aside for him and his family, the section being marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground. Each section is subdivided in the same way for every member of each family except the infants. This group cooperates in all phases of gardening. The males and females, children, adolescents, and adults have differing tasks allotted to them, but they work as a coöperative unit under the direction of the boss gardeners, the adult males of the group. A new function for the man is, therefore, to take the responsibility for planning and organizing gardening activities.

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Some of the gardening tasks are more effectively performed by a group larger than the gardening group. The Kwoma have a work-bee system to take care of this need. Whenever the boss gardeners decide that they need help on some phase of gardening, either in clearing the site, breaking the ground, or harvesting the crop, they gather together enough food for a feast. They and their families collect a surplus of sago flour and provide meat, preferably a wild pig. If no one has succeeded in spearing a pig, they process a still greater surplus of sago flour, trade it for fish from the river natives, and use this instead of pork. When they have gathered this supply of flour and meat, they announce, both on the house tambaran gongs and by passing the word around, a work bee for the following day and request their

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* If all the details of the technique of gardening were presented here, the main theme—socialization—would be buried in a welter of detail. Only the major processes of gardening will therefore be presented, leaving the details for another publication.

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224 own hunger directly. Indirectly the amount of pork that is
 602 available to him does depend on his hunting activities, for if
 he never supplies his relatives with pork they tend to utilize
 the pigs which they kill for ceremonial purposes rather than
 for distribution among relatives. On the other hand, a man
 receives his share of pork at ceremonies even though he has
 never killed a pig himself. Furthermore his negligence in
 supplying a *brother*, for example, with pork does not mean
 that this *brother* will not be motivated to distribute a kill to
 other relatives, in which distribution the man who has never
 killed a pig automatically gets his share. A man may, there-
 fore, have pork to eat all his life and yet never kill a pig;
 indeed, this is true of a number of Kwoma men.

224 Since a man's desire for pork is relevant but not crucial
 • 626 in influencing him to learn to hunt pigs, and since it is an
 occupation in which men are frequently seriously injured[†]
 and sometimes killed, other reasons must be sought to ex-
 plain why so many men do learn the techniques of hunting.
 One of these motives is that of avoiding the criticism of his
 friends and relatives, a factor which operates in the follow-
 ing way. If a man does not learn to hunt, but develops some
 other technical specialty such as wood carving, toolmaking,
 ceremonial gong beating, dancing, or song leading, then he
 will not be criticized for not developing the art of pig hunt-
 ing. If, however, he does not so compensate for this lack,
 social criticism will be leveled against him. He will be called
 lazy and scolded by his wife and the other members of the
 hamlet for not doing his share of productive work.

224 There are positive gains which motivate a man to learn to
 hunt. If he uses the pork as the chief food of a work bee, his
 [476] hunting activity is rewarded by getting his work accom-
 [461] plished more quickly, for more people are likely to answer
 [692] his call for help if they know there will be pork. If he uses it
 to provide a feast for a sorcery court and his relative recov-

[†] During my stay at Kwoma, two men were seriously injured. One of
 them had his leg badly lacerated and escaped death by climbing a tree; the
 other's hand was badly chewed and he was saved by another hunter who
 happened to be in the vicinity.

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A variety of tools are required for special purposes in various aspects of the Kwoma economics. Spears,¹⁰ sago scrapers, dippers, gruel mixers, bamboo water containers, and digging sticks are made by men and kept for repeated use. The sago washing outfit is assembled by the man from the materials at hand in the swamp and abandoned when the site is moved. A man constructs the pole used to hang up yam stringers from a bamboo section marker and replaces it when he is through. The men make, decorate, and harden by fire the clay pots used for cooking. All these tools and utensils are necessary to the economic activities in which they are used so that the functions and sanctions which pertain to these activities also apply indirectly to the manufacture of the tools. In addition to this, a man who does not make the necessary tools is directly criticized for his negligence by his relatives. Furthermore, a good toolmaker not only gains prestige for his dexterity, but is also able to trade any surplus of neatly made permanent tools for goods or services.

Fish is the only food product which the Kwoma obtain primarily by trade from other tribes.¹¹ The river natives catch a surplus of fish, whereas the Kwoma produce a surplus of sago flour. On the other hand, the river tribes do not control large enough sago swamps for their needs, nor have the Kwoma developed adequate fishing techniques.¹² A regular exchange of these products therefore takes place between the Kwoma and the river people, particularly those from the villages of Yambon, Malu, and Avatip. The women of both groups do the trading, the men going to the market only for the purpose of gossiping and in the hope of making a tryst.¹³ A Kwoma girl may attend these trading meetings during childhood; she participates in them during adolescence; as

¹⁰ The pig spear used for hunting is somewhat heavier and constructed somewhat differently from the spear used in war.

¹¹ Shell money, tools, and pigs are sometimes exchanged between the Kwoma and adjacent tribes. Men carry on this type of trade.

¹² Canoes are employed by the river natives for fishing. The Kwoma had only one canoe, which was so badly constructed that it could scarcely be used. Very few of the natives knew how to paddle it.

¹³ In the days before the tribes were brought under control, each market was attended by armed men to prevent a possible head-hunting assault.

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he is too big to be spanked or beaten. The habit of obeying their commands has been so firmly implanted that, for the most part, he continues to do so even though the parent may not have the strength to punish disobedience physically. More often than when he was an adolescent, however, he ignores the commands of his aged parents. He is seldom physically aggressive toward them, though he not infrequently attacks them verbally. Kwoma informants could remember no case of an adult son wounding or killing a parent. Since there is no relative closer than the son to retaliate for the crime, there is no direct control of patricide. Its rare occurrence is explained in part by the punishments received during childhood for aggression toward the parents, and in part by the active negative sanction that would be applied by the whole community. Members of the hamlet would consider the deed unnatural and would avoid the murderer. [626] •

A grown man is more frequently aggressive toward his *brothers* than he was during adolescence. As already noted, his *brothers'* wives take the place of his *sisters* as persons in the hamlet with whom, although they are sexually taboo, he frequently has clandestine affairs. If such behavior is suspected or discovered, it usually leads to blows or at least to an exchange of threats and insults between the *brothers* concerned. In order to avoid suspicion, a man takes great care not to look at his *brother's* wife or to be in any other way intimate with her when he is likely to be observed. This is the nearest approach to an avoidance relationship—in public, at least—that is found in Kwoma culture. 885 602 835 598 839

The following cases illustrate conflicts between adult *brothers* which spring from sexual jealousy. Yat accused Kar of having an affair with his wife and threatened him. Kar denied the accusation and said that it was a bad state of affairs when one was falsely accused by his *brother*. He intimated that he might break relations with Yat. They remained hostile for about a week and then apparently forgot the matter, for their relations became friendly again. A more serious case occurred between Wof and War. The latter planned to leave the hamlet for several days and asked Wof

885 if he would take care of his wife, Mbora, during his absence.
 602 Wof agreed, and Mbora came to stay with him. When War
 835 returned, someone gossiped to him that Wof had taken ad-
 578 vantage of the situation and had had sexual relations with
 837 Mbora. War accused Wof of adulterous behavior and threat-
 ened to spear him. Wof ran away, but his wife stood her
 ground and counterattacked War with an adz, wounding
 him in the arm. In still another instance War's wife com-
 plained that while gathering firewood she had been sexually
 attacked by his *brother*, Takawur. War set out with a spear
 after Takawur, and would have killed him had he not fled
 from the tribe. He still lives in exile.

421 Fighting between *brothers* sometimes results from eco-
 578 nomic conflicts. The responsibility for maintaining his prop-
 602 erty against theft and trespass, which a man assumes as an
 593 adult, sometimes generates enough antagonism between
 1385 *brothers* to overcome communal disapproval and their early
 training against fighting one another. The following case
 illustrates such a conflict. Kwal and Daw, two brothers in
 their early thirties, lived in adjoining houses. One day, while
 Kwal was away working, Daw climbed an areca palm which
 they owned in common and began to gather the nuts. Kwal's
 wife told Daw to stop, as the nuts were not yet ripe, and,
 when he paid no attention, began to insult him. Daw, stung
 by her insults, climbed down the tree and beat her with the
 handle of a spear. When Kwal returned home and was told
 by his wife how Daw had treated her, he set upon his brother
 with a stave, and the two battled until Daw received a severe
 blow on his head.

578 The reaction of the community indicates the sanction on
 513 fraternal aggression. Daw and Kwal shouted angrily at one
 • 626 another during the fight, and when the former received the
 blow on his head he cried out as though he were mortally
 wounded. As soon as the sounds of the fracas were heard,
 nearly everyone in the hamlet rushed to the scene. When I
 arrived, the battle was over and several persons were stand-
 ing by each contestant. Mes was supporting Daw, who stood
 trembling with blood flowing down his cheek from a cut in his

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scalp. Most of the spectators formed a neutral group between Kwal and Daw. When they had discovered what had happened, they began to discuss the merits of the case and were divided in their opinion as to which brother was right. Since Kwal and Daw were real brothers, the only persons who could take sides, being more nearly related to one principal than to the other, were their wives and children. The children were not grown up, and their reaction was one of fear, but the respective wives stood, eyes blazing, with digging sticks in hand ready to join in the fray. When I asked the spectators their opinion of the affair, they said that after all it was Kwal's and Daw's business to fight if they wanted to, but that they were stupid to injure one another since brothers should stand together against trouble from an outsider rather than quarrel among themselves. This opinion represents the communal sanction which is imposed on fighting between brothers. As can be seen, the direct social control of fraternal aggression is minimal. From this it might be expected that fights between brothers would occur frequently. This case, however, was the only one in which brothers actually came to blows during a period of seven months. This indicates that the disadvantages of in-group aggression and the advantages of fraternal cooperation have been well learned during the socialization process.

When a fight occurs between *brothers* who are not closely related by blood, their relatives rally in support of them. If the dispute is not serious, it usually ceases after an exchange of invective. If the affair cannot be settled in this way, members of the hamlet who are not emotionally involved try to discover the blame and suggest a settlement. The discussion usually takes place by shouting from house to house, but sometimes the men will gather at the house tambaran and hold court. If even these measures fail to settle the dispute, a permanent rift may result, and the minority group may withdraw from the hamlet.

The division of a hamlet as a result of a dispute between its members is not uncommon in Kwoma society. Such a split had occurred in the not-too-distant past in each of the three

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854 an older sibling and then only under her direct supervision.

593 The father's duty with respect to the well-being of his infant

[754] is primarily to take special precautions against sorcery and to be ready to issue a strong anti-sorcery protest the moment the infant becomes ill. Unless he has a second wife or daughter old enough to work, he may have to cook his own meals, process sago flour alone, and make some reciprocal arrangements with the wife or daughter of a brother to supply his

[853] household with wood or water. The mother may not indulge in sexual intercourse during the infancy of her offspring lest she be forced to wean it while it is, according to Kwoma standards, too young. Thus the birth of an infant necessitates considerable changes in the habits of both its father and its mother and is a burden to them as well as a promised asset. Despite this, Kwoma parents may not express annoyance at these frustrations by hurting the infant in any way; they may not even punish it except very mildly and only under the circumstances which have been described. This prohibition seems to be effected more by the fact that it is incompatible with the strong wish for children than by any direct sanctions.

593 It is not necessary to repeat here the details of the behavior of Kwoma parents toward their child as he passes through the various stages from infancy to adulthood, since these facts may be inferred from previous chapters. It may simply be stated, however, that the parents take the final responsibility for their child's well-being and for teaching him to behave in the way that the culture dictates as right and proper.

• [626] Parents who neglect their children are censured by other

[684] members of the hamlet. Takawur, for example, had to flee from the tribe after he attempted to rape War's wife. He left his young son, Gwamp, behind him at Kwoma. Way, Takawur's brother, took care of Gwamp. Although the event had occurred several years before, Takawur is still criticized for not providing for his son, whereas the rape is now no longer held against him.

602 Although a brother is separated from his sister when the
[591] latter marries and moves away from the hamlet, they con-

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[123] you know enough to keep non-relatives out of your house?
No one is going to keep these people from stealing from you
if you are afraid to protect your own rights."

Although a man must be aggressive when he is threatened
by a non-relative, he must not be disproportionately so. In
general, the amount of aggression he may show is determined
[685] by the kind and amount of threat that he has endured. If he
catches a non-relative in the act of stealing or trespassing, he
may beat him on the spot or threaten him with a spear, but
may not kill him. If he discovers the crime after it is done,
he may threaten physical violence unless reparations are
[692] made. If the thief or trespasser refuses to comply with these
demands, a court session is held in which the principals meet
with their relatives and discuss the matter until an equitable
[683] settlement is made. If a man detects a non-relative stealing
[684] sorcery material, or raping a wife or sister, he may kill him
on the spot. If he discovers that a non-relative is having an
affair with his wife or sister, he may threaten or beat him but
may not kill him. Following this he may retaliate by seduc-
[624] ing a sister or wife of the man whom he has discovered. If a
man suspects a non-relative of sorcery, he may openly accuse
him and turn public opinion against him in order to make
him stop. If it is well established that a non-relative has been
guilty of sorcery, the victim or his relative is not condemned
for retaliating in kind.

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626 A man is inhibited from being disproportionately aggress-
sive toward a non-relative by a complex of sanctions. In any
controversy between two unrelated members of the tribe,
three groups appear: the relatives of the aggressor, the rela-
tives of the victim, and those who are related to neither. If
the behavior of the aggressor is deemed appropriate, he will
be supported in his action by his own relatives and by the
group related to neither principal. Furthermore, although
his relatives will support the victim and will verbally threaten
and insult the aggressor and his relatives, they will take no
physical step toward counteraggression. Then, too, there are
always persons among the relatives of the victim who are re-
lated to someone in the aggressor group, and who therefore

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do not wish the controversy to continue to such a point that they will be forced to break these relationships. These persons, if the aggression has adhered to custom, will point out that the victim received what he deserved and will suggest that the matter be closed. If the aggressor demands compensation, it is these persons who bring pressure to bear upon the victim to pay it. If, however, the aggressor's behavior has been disproportionate, if his reaction to some minor threat imposed by a non-relative has exceeded the bounds of custom, then the situation is reversed. Public opinion swings in favor of the victim. If the aggressor has been exceedingly disproportionate in his aggression, his own relatives may even withdraw their support from him, and he is then forced to leave the tribe to escape retaliation from the victim and his relatives. [609] 578 626 • [602]

The Kwoma court system provides a formalized mode of settling disputes between non-relatives.⁴⁷ The court may meet to settle any disagreement, whether it be over property, sex, or sorcery. Only adult males attend the meetings, which are held at a house tambran, usually a neutral one. The men convene in the morning carrying spears and wearing bone daggers. When everyone has arrived, the most important man of the hamlet in which the meeting is being held stands and states the purpose of the meeting and his view of the case. When he has finished speaking, someone else will stand and state his opinion. Then another presents his views. Thus the meeting progresses. A man's speech usually starts with an exoneration of himself and his relatives and ends with an accusation of someone else. While making a speech a man stamps his feet on the ground, brandishes a spear or dagger, and speaks loudly, often raising his voice to a shout. Sometimes, when someone has made a particularly pointed accusation, the accused will rise and stand facing his accuser. Each may draw his dagger, stand close to his opponent, reach over the other's shoulder and make jabbing movements at his back, shouting insults and threats. It is particularly im- 692 [562] [411] 695

⁴⁷ Disputes which only concern relatives are settled at similar but less formal meetings at the local house tambran. [602]

121 the meaning of fighting, beating, spearing, and killing. *Fiju*
 861 was the word used to denote the fight between Daw and
 [192] Kwal in which the latter received a bad scalp wound; to
 [196] denote Mey's action when he struck Fit on the back with
 a burning firebrand; by hunters when they successfully
 spear and kill a pig; and to killing someone in a head-hunt-
 ing raid and to in-group murder. From these contexts, many
 of which have been directly experienced and all of which are
 known to Kwoma pupils, it is evident that the threat *anafa*
fiju should arouse anxiety. Furthermore, teachers usually
 carry out their threat by beating the pupil if he does not
 heed. From these two sources, therefore, a threat gains the
 power to evoke fear in the pupil.

The following case will serve to illustrate threatening as a
 technique of teaching. Kum, while playing under the porch
 at Mar's house one afternoon, picked up a broom and started
 carrying it outside. Kwiya and Awa, his older *sisters*, both
 noticed him and told him to put it down. Kum did not heed at
 first, but when Kwiya threatened to beat him unless he did so
 at once, he quickly dropped the broom. In this case the drive
 was the fear of being beaten; the response was dropping the
 broom, the cues were the instructions to drop the broom given
 by Kwiya and Awa, the sight of objects and people under
 the porch, the feeling of the broom in his hand, etc.; the re-
 ward was the reduction of the fear of being beaten. It can be
 seen that the effect of a threat on learning is somewhat dif-
 ferent from the effect of punishment and scolding. In the
 first place, the right response is made immediately rather
 than on a subsequent occasion, and, in the second, the motiva-
 tion is stronger, since a fear-evoking person is present when
 the pupil makes the right response and the reinforcement is
 consequently greater.²⁵

121 Social control is largely effected by means of threats. In
 • 626 Kwoma the threat of breaking relationship is one of the more
 602 important techniques by which an adult can control the be-

[113] ²⁵ The amount of reinforcement is probably a positive function of the
 strength of the drive. See C. I. Hull, "Outline of a Systematic Theory of
 Learning," sec. v, *Educational Psychology Yearbook* (in press).

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not follow from the source specified. This could be expected to result, through the operation of the principle of extinction,¹¹ in a weakening of the habit of heeding this particular warning and in a functional discrimination between realistic and unrealistic dangers.¹² The fact that these unrealistic warnings are sanctioned by the community normally prevents such an event from occurring. Pupils are punished for not heeding warnings about *masalai*, ghosts, sorcery, or blood, as is illustrated by the following case. Kwiya and Fit each bought a harmonica from me and began playing it around their house. Their mother warned them that this would bring ghosts. Neither of them heeded this warning, so the mother took matters in her own hands. She scolded them both severely and forced them to return their harmonicas to me. An even more striking case, perhaps, occurred when Mundik,¹³ a youth who had not yet received his keloids of manhood, attended a funeral ceremony, thus ignoring the warning about the danger from the *masalai* of the cult to those who are not yet initiated. Mundik was attacked and beaten by the members of the cult, and, after being tied hand and foot, was thrown into a near-by dwelling. Had it not been for our presence he might well have been killed.

Since social sanctions are, in the last analysis, responsible for the maintenance of supernatural beliefs, an inquiry might profitably be made into the problem of why parents take the time and effort to force children to heed warnings. It may indeed be asked why they even issue these unrealistic warnings. A detailed answer to the above questions is beyond the scope of this chapter, but a few suggestions can be made. In the first place, since the teachers have been brought up in Kwoma culture they do not distinguish between realistic and unrealistic dangers as such. Hence they believe that if a

¹¹ See chap. vii, p. 192, n. 30.

¹² If a response to a generalized cue does not achieve a reward, but the response to the original cue continues to do so, the organism learns to discriminate between the two cues and to react only to the one which leads to reward. See E. R. Hilgard and D. G. Marquis, *Conditioning and Learning* (New York, 1940), chap. viii.

¹³ Mundik was a Yelagu who was staying with relatives at Kwoma.

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sion²⁰ which is normally harmless because the sorcerer is seldom if ever discovered.

The belief in sorcery, as well as furnishing an explanation for sickness, functions as a means of social control. It stands, indeed, in lieu of a police force and strong political organization as a preventive of criminal behavior. Theft, rape, murder, and trespass, for example, are inhibited by the fear that these crimes will bring retaliation through sorcery from the person against whom the crime is committed or from his relatives. The fear of sorcery is more potent in preventing crimes than the fear of other forms of retaliation because it is considered as dangerous as realistic modes and more difficult to prevent.

Finally, sorcery provides a means whereby persons can express their aggression against other members of the society without serious consequences. Although the Kwoma probably use this mode of expressing anger only infrequently, the belief in the efficacy of the sorcery mechanism permits one to perform acts which he believes will cause the sickness and death of another person. Thus sorcery beliefs, like those about *maralai* and ghosts, perform important functions for the members of Kwoma society.

Kwoma informants explain that it is necessary to hold the age-grade ceremony once every five years in order to provide an opportunity for the ceremonial letting of blood that insures health and normal growth to the initiates. The beliefs about blood are thus bound into the system of age-grading, which provides a hierarchy of prestige positions and, like the yam cult, provides opportunities for singing, dancing, flute playing, gong beating, wood carving, and ceremonial license. The taboo against eating pork that one has speared, which is based on the Kwoma theory of blood, prevents private consumption by the hunter and compels him to distribute the meat. This results in quick consumption, an important factor in a damp hot climate where no efficient method for preserving meat is known. The distribution of pork to rela-

²⁰ The announcement of sickness, the behavior at court, and the testing visits are all aggressive in character.

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123 some sort of fearful retaliation. I can't quite sense it. It comes to
156 consciousness in a feeling that I won't be liked, and I have an over-
[626]whelming desire to be liked by everyone. This sanction of the mores by
direct physical punishment is also quite foreign to me in a cultural
sense, and it is very difficult for me to accept it in this as well as
the unconscious psychological sense. This is a point on personality and
culture or the personality of culture.

123 I sat around at the house tambaran for a while. Wof came down. Mar,
726 Mas, Oriyap and Mey were there. War began talking to Mas in a low tone.
He said something about my musket and Yelagu. I guessed what it was,
and later Oriyap told me that War was suggesting that Mey get the musket
and go with him and wipe out the Yelagu people. Mas and Mar reacted to
this by getting very excited and dancing up and down in the house tambaran.
In the middle of this talk Chinuse called out that there was somebody in
my house stealing something. The house boys and I ran up, but it turned
out to be a dog and Chinuse's imagination. I told Oriyap and Mar that
this musket business could not be, for word would get to the police about
it, and I would be hanged along with the rest of them. If War wanted to
shoot them with a spear, it was his business.

126 April 14, 1937. This morning Yafomongwa, Kwelump, Amba, Evelas, and
721 War came up ornamented, and I took a picture. Kwelump and Kwonai asked me
726 whether I would tell the police if they went on a head-hunting raid. I
[123] told them no, that it was their business. Mey told me that the time was
set for tomorrow morning, that they were making soup now. Men were going
by the house all morning to pull Maruk's canoe. In the afternoon they
came back and feasted at Imbima. Awa visited in the afternoon, and I got
some information from him. He said he did not want to eat with the others